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A.F.M.

News Paper Articles

Extracts from the "Mail"

1922

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Newspaper Articles

Extracts from the Mail

for the year 1922

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84. 4-1-1922.

THE ANTIDOTES.

Extremist agitators are busy spreading the p of disloyalty and revolution in Madras. Though thei tator has postponed the date of the announcement of t on constitutional authority which mosqucrades under th name of "Civil Disobedience". they are continuing their fall activities on spreading distrust of Government and fear of the horror which will happen to those who done to make a stand against Extremist terrorism. We learn to day that rumours are going about that certain places of public resort are to be made the object of demonstrations by Extremi rowdies. For warmed if forearmed, and those responsible for the protection of law abiding citizens will not we trust turn a deaf ear to these rumours. They may have little substantial basis but as the foundation of a system of moral terrorism, they can be and are very potent weapons in the hards of unscrupulous Extremist agitators and their the non-co-operation and Khilafat volunteers. No wise government would ignore persistent rumours, and it would be well if the Government were to instruct their officers especially police officers to go round the bazars and other places where people congregate and do trade and assure then that ample protection will be afforded all law abdiding citizens. Shopkeepers do not willingly close their shops. non workers voluntarily remain idel, and reassurin work from en in a position to give it with authority would go far to nullify the effects of poisonous Extremist his and unscrupulous threats.

Influential non-officials can do much t... ...ey can themselves give the lie to ...d unpreparedness to pro... ...midation ...

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value peace and order can provide the antidote to extremist poison. Good work is being done in this direction by the loyalist volunteers organised by the SouthIndian Liberal Federation. Parties of these volunteers headed by men of influence in the public life of Madras are going round the bazzars and assuring shopkeepers of ample protection from Extremist rowdies. Their activities will we feel some result in greater confidence in the ability of the authorities to protect law abiding citizens in the trading centres of Madras and though many workers will naturally be holiday making on the day of the Prince of wales arrival whichsynchrouises with the first day of the Pongal holidays we believe that few shopkeepers will be be- by Extremist persuation or intimidated by Extremist threats into closing their premises cordial co-operation between the authorities and loyal citizens is all the more necessary at this juncture when there exists in Madras a large body of unemployed consisting municipally of mill workers, idle owing to the recent strike who are being exploited by Extremist agitators. The Puliantope riots taught Madras what a vast amount of from can be caused by bodies of dis-counted men whose passions are inflamed by unscrupulous agitators. Rumour says that these men are being excited to hostile demonstrations on the day of the Prince's arrival in Madras. If this be so, the authorities should take due precautions since the sudden creption of thousands of turbulen men in the more popular streets might easily cause a panic. We fully understand that these rumours may be purposely circulated by Extremists hoping to frighten the people into abstenance from the popular rejoicings at the Prince's arrival but whatever their origin they should be immediately countered by an official statement published in the Press and by word of month by Public officers throughout the city.

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85. 10-1-1922.

THE VICTIMS PROTEST.

Unable to deny the committee of inhuman atrocities by the Moplah rebels Indian Extremist non-co-operators and Khilafatists alike have been endeavoinring to minimise and justify them. The resolutions of the Gandhi congress and the speeches at and the resolutions of the Khilafat conference and the Muslims League were all aimed at concealing the Crimes of the Moplah rebels. Sympathy was expressed with Moplahs. The foremost Muslim leader at Ahmadabad went to so far as to justify Moplah outrages and claim public sympathy for the rebels. Even the congress predominantly Hindu in character expressed much more sympathy with the Moplahs than with their victims, and while deploring forcible conversions held no word of solace for other victims of destardly murders and ruthless ruffians. But this is an not surprising. It would be the beignning of the end of the Extremist attempt to secure the domination of India if those engaged there in were to begin expressing contribution for the misdeeds of their followers at their duties. Mr.Gandhi was nomentarily led into doing so in Bombay during the riots there but he soon recovered his Extememist mentality and regretting his in discretion, resumed once more the policy of his party that of blaming the forces of law and order and lawabiding citizens who dare to resent Extremist tyranny.

But though Extremists seek to excuse and councela. Moplah crimes loyal citizens are not blind to their ruses. Those who live in Malabar who have suffered themselves and others suffer who have witnessed deeds of unspeakable horror perpetrated by men whose basseist passions have been inflamed by unscrupulous Khilafat and non-co-operation agitators are determined that India as a whole shall not

remain ignorant of the true fruit of Extremist propaganada. They do not intend to let the Extremist leaders hood wink the people or use the train tragedy which we all regret as a veil to hide the terrible crimes of Moplah Extremists. At a meeting at calicut on Sunday, the citizens passed a resolution condemining the attempts to palliate the wrongs committeed by the Moplahs and the resolutions passed by the non-co-operators and the Khilafatists at Ahmedabad about the Moplah rebellion. The meeting also declared."That non-co-operation cum Khilfat propaganda was the direct and proximate cause of the rebellion, and affirms that the recent non-co-operation congress Khilafat Conference and Muslim League have acted against the interests of the people of Malabar in subscribing to the resolutions". That is the opinin of the victims of Moplah outrages the victims of the Extremist propaganda. It is the opinion too, of all loyal citizens in India.

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86. 14-1-1922.

ACCORDING TO THEIR WORKS.

Madras has experienced in a small measure the results of Extremist propaganda. In a minor degree the outrages which distinguished the activities of Extremists in Bombay on November 17 last have been repeated in her midst. That this city was not the scene of such bloody and shameful deeds as were perpetrated in Bombay was due not to the reluctance of the non-co-operators Khalifatists and their hired ruffians to indulge in them but to lack of opportunity and the cowardice of the Extremists when confronted with determined men. The story of the disturbances in Madras has many parallels with that of those in Bombay. In Bombay the Extremists furious at the enthusiasm shown by the citizens in their greeting to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales angry of their importence to stem the flood of citizens flocking to see his arrival vested their speech on in offensive defenceless men women and children, and indulged in orgies of looting and incendianism. In Madras the Extremists, notified at the failure of their boycott movement set their hired ruffians to stone men engaged in their lawful avocations petted women and children whose only offence was to ride in cars besieged an aged loyal leader in his house shattered shot windows and intimidated servants and shopekeepers. Fear of the consequences above prevented than from committing worse crimes as is pared by the narrative of the incidents in the Mount Road area.

The Extremist press will claim that the hartal was a complete success. They will point to the fact that shops were closed bazaars idle and claim that this was due to popular disapproval of the constitutional Government in so doing they will be uttering falsehoods. The bulk of traders who closed their shops or deserted the bazzars

yesterday did so because they feared extremist hooliganism. The word had ~~gixexfaxxthe~~ goneforth that those who attempted to remain open would have their premises looted and rather than face this danger they chose to keep holding for the day. Events proved that they were well advised. Authority with the best will in the world cannot disperse its forces to every nook and corner in the city. And help though it come swiftly may come too late. Far and doubt not resentment of officer policy caused most shopekeepers to close. Those who remained open were made the object of Extremist attacks. Just as the hoolignaism in Madras yesterday was the paralled of the disturbance in Bombay so the closing of shops and abstertion from activity of certain workers was the result of intimidation and terrorism similar to that which brought the life of calcutta to a standstill, on November17. Fear paralysed the city's activities not sympathy with the revolutionaries cause.

Calcutta put a term to the pernicious activities of Extremists by organising the citizens themselves in the defence of their own rights;. The presence of the civil guard in the streets of calcutta during the Prince's visit to that city did more to defeat the Extremists criminal activities than any other force. The time has come when Madras should follow the example of calcutta when her citizens should organise in their owndefence. The extremists are blusterers, bullies., who succeeded only because of the timidity or peace loving character of the average Madras citizen. Met by determined men citizens who make it clear that they will not allow their liberties to be trifled with the gangs of Extremists and their hire lings break and run. They are not paid by their revolutionary masters to bear heart but to inflict it, so runs their reasoning

Madras has hesitated long enough. Her people have sought to persuade themselves that the Extremists were merely blusterers would stop at actual crime. Yesterday outrages know otherwere. Our extremists are like their fellows elsewhere, careful of their own skins but ready to employ others to perform their dastardly work. All loyal citizens should therefore join forces in a great organisation which shall say to the Extremists. " We have borne your mischief making long enough, we have tolerated your pernicious preachings we have tolerated seen you suborne foolish youths from their studies but we will not tolerate your interference with out liberties". Only in this way can the tide of Extremist outrage be stanned left above it will rise to heights which may over whelm all law and order and reduiness India to anarchy. Let the Extremists be judged by their deeds and let us pass sentences accordingly.

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87. 18-1-1922.

A PATRIOTS WARNING.

Thank god for SirSankaran Nair Madras has every reason to be proud of this gallent son. At a time when traitors to their country's interests are harrying her into the horrors of civil war, when loyal citizens seem impotent to realise the dangers confronting them sir Sankaran Nair, after one last effort to avert the danger by an appeal to the reason of the revolutionaries has sounded the alarm is no uncertain terms. No fearful fawning hy-pocrite he no dissembler of the truth. He tells the people plainly in phrases which go home because of their cold and unimpassioned logic that the Extremists worth their mad plan of civil disobedience are heading the country into bloodshed and may if they succeedded in securing the extensive adoption of their scheme drench the country in blood. Remember this is no alarmist speaking. No one in the least acquainted with SirSankaran Nairs's career can accuse him of being easily swayed by the emotions of the moment. He is a strong study son of India a man of independent views who has always deservedly enjoyed the regulation of serging what he thought was right, irrespective of the feelings of men parties on Government Consequently his warning is entitled to special attention and will it is hoped be taken to heartedly all those especially in Madras who continually proclaim that the revolutionaries are a spent force the early disappearance of which is inevitable.

Th[illegible]re not. Mr.Gandhi and his Khilafat collegaues have [illegible]ately scheme and worked for a revolution by Peace[illegible]s if possible if not then through violence.

She[illegible]atists, more frank than their non-Co-operation

co[illegible]make no secret of the eventual adoption

of

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Mr. Gandhi's followers by their actions in every city in which they have dared to wet openly show that they are ever prepared to adopt violence where persuasion threat or coercion fail. This is not surprising to those who have followed the movement. As sir Sankaran Nair points out the illegal and hideous extremist policy had its origin in a false promise of the attainment of Swaraj within a year an statement calculated and therefore made to mislead the ignorant masses which all intelligent supporters must have known to be impossible of attainment; and which in its better stages, where its consequences, become apparent, has let to bloodshed but cherry of thousands, of untold misery for thousands of women and children ramishment of thousands of women; The Extremists do not deplore these crimes they hide them or when they cannot hide them they excuse than or deny them. Look at their attitude towards the horrible outrages committeed by Moplah rebels. These crimes are glossed over and a tragic blunder proclaimed to the ward as a deliberate atrocity committeed by Government.

Months ago we contended that the Government should cease from all traffic with Extremist traitors. That contention applies equally to all loyal sources of India. All this talk of round table conferenceswith the Extrermists is so much triffing blather. It can produce no good. Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues of the congress and the Khilafat movement are irreconcilable. They are avowed enemies of the Government they demand that the ... nt should surrender before negotiations are open ... en them, that their terms should be conceded by the G... ent as the vanquished concede the demands of the v... . They are impossible. Why then worry about negotia... with them? The duty of every loyalson of India is t... ght than and their movement. They are enemies of th... country faes

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to peace and well being of every law abdiing citizens traitors to all that makes for India's progress. As sir Sankaran Nair righty points out and it is a truism which we and others who have India's interests at heart have been emphasising for months past, the Extremist movement has grown to its pres ent size because of the ~~xxx~~ capable weakness of Lord Chemsford's Government whose policy has been followed by the present Government. There can be no excuse for the continuance of that policy in the light of the present revelations of the true character of the Extremist movement, India does not want civil war. The bulk of her people desire, nothing more than to be allowed to live in peace and enjoy the benefits of good Government and the fights and privilages conferred upon then by the Reforms. The terms of thousands who thronged to see H.R.H. the Prince of Wales who greeted him with enthusiasm whenever he appeared, there an the true representatives of India. Not the fee lord voiced agitators and there misguided deeps who bow the knee to a dictator whose vanity has overbalanced his reason and who seeks to impose terms like a conquering emperor. So those Who talk of and round Table conferences who would say, "Consult the masses teram their will and follow it it will not lead to revelutions. And to Government the warning is repeated, "Remember your duty to enforce the law and protect the law abiding". There can be no concessions to revolutionaries and anarchists. The country's interest demand that they be fought with every weapon at the law's command.

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88. 20-1-1922.

A FRANK CONVERT.

About this time last year Dewan Bahadur M.Krishnan Nair member for Malabar led the debate in the Madras Legislative Council over the action of Mr.E.F. Thomas the District Magistrate who prohibited Mr.Yakub Hasan from addressiing meetings in Calicut and committeed him to prison for refusing to furnish security. Mr. Thomas had information at the time that thousnads of Ernad Moplahs had flocked into Calicut among there several prominent Khilafat workers who as subseqeent even have poured who the leaders in the rebellion. There was no likelihood of a breach of the peace it was emphatically protested up the time and there was no necessity whatever for the District Magistrate to have called in the military. The Extremist press characterised Mr.Thomas as a repressionist. But what is the position today? The member for Malabar has grown wise after the event and we are glad to see is frank enough to bring up a motion urging that whatever the cost troops should be permanently stationed in three important centres in the Moplah area so as to afford pretection to the Hindus and minimise the chances of another outbreak.

If we examine the events that proceded the rebellion it is clear that there was a feeling of comradeship between a large section of the Hindus and the Muslim who worked together in the carrying out of their programme of progressive non-co-operation adopted at the Majeri conference. Congress sabbas and Khilafat organisations rapidly sprang into existence side by side and the religions susceptibilities of the Moplahs where exploited with the object of provoking hostility towards the British Government. The Moplahs began to organise preparations with the avowed object of subverting ~~organise~~ the Government who were represented to these misguided peopel to be hostile to the Muslim

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faith and to have done grievous wrong to their Khalifat It was during the progress of this propaganda in which political agitators were the Wire pullers that the Moplahs first signal their determination to resist the authority of the Government at Pookathur about a month before the rebellion. And subsequently when Mr.Thomas went out on August 20 last to arrest certain warrantees who were reported to be manufacturing ~~offen~~ offensive weapons on a large scale the Moplahs finding themselves in strength almost overwhelmed the small column of the military and police which the District Magistrate miliraty took out with him and murdered Mr.Rowly and Lieutenant Johnson among others in cold blood. With their hands strained with the blood of these unfortunate victims, the Moplahs brokeout in open rebellion. The rebellion spread like wild fire and the frenzy of the fanatic one aroused he adopted the principles inclucated by his religions teachers and murder jullge and forcible conversions soon became the order of the day. His Hindu fellow woerkers of the non-co-operation creed deserted him after having judged him into the insurrection. The musguided Moplah believing that ~~that~~ British power had been crippled, made bold to wage war against constituted authority. In the prosecution of that war launched against the Government the Moplah fanatic believing himslef to be in power, followed the example of his co-religionists during the reigon of TippuSultan prosecuted that war against all infidels in which category he not only included Government officials and the non-Muslims of Malabar but also loyal Moplahs who were courageous enough to support the Government.

While Mr.Krishnan Nair admits that the rebellion is the outcome of the Khilafat movement be is emphatic

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in repudiating the statement of Mr.Hazzrat Mohami that the Moplahs were in a religious war against the Government Mr.Nair says that this statement is downright "nonsense" Mr.Krishnan Nair is right in contradicting the misleading statement that the rebellion had nothing to do with the Khilafat but we presume that he does not intend to create the impression that there was no religious war what the extremists first started in Malabar was no doubt a political campaign against the Government but by placing considerable emphasis on the Khilafat grievances and by playing on the religious feelings of the Moplahs deliberately provoked a religious war in the course of which all non-Muslims were victimised.

The resolution brought foreward yesterday indicates that the Hindus and their representatives in the council have realised the terrible dangers of Moplah fanaticism. We entirely agree with Mr.Nair that it is imperatively necessary to have a permanent military force in the important centres of the Moplah area. As we have often send, before it was an error to have abolished the small garrison at Malaperran. We are glad to find that the Government are aware of the necessity for the restoration of this garrison and for the present of anadequate body of troops in the rebellion area to safeguard the life and property of loyalists We trust that the representations to the Government of India will be given effect to and that no false ideas of economy will again be permitted to jeopardise the security of the people.

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25-1-1922.

NON PAYMENT OF TAXES.

WHAT DOES HE WANT.?

We present our readers to day with once of the lengthiest enigmas it has ever been our lot to encounter. It takes the form of a letter written by Mr.P, V.Subba Rao represents the Guntur constitutency in the Madras Legislative Council. Mr. Subba Row is something of an emigma in himself . He is not a co-operation in the sense that he feels called upon to co-operate with loyalists and Government infighting the revolutionary non-co-operation movement yet he sits in the council and disapproves the non-co-operation non-payment of taxes campaign which he has been inaugurated in his constitutency. In short he sympathises with non-co-operation while accepting the privileges and opportunities afforded by the Reforms we are not for the moment concerned with his political nagaris. Our intention is to all attention to the attitude this xxx elected representatives of the people adopts towards the non-payment of taxes by the Government for dealing with it. Mr.

Mr. Subba Row admits that the Extremists leaders in Guntur have given both Mr.Gandhi and the public generally a false idea of the positin in the district. He exposes these falsehoods shows how village officers have been duped into resigning them hosts by assurances and that these are safe how ryots are uncouraged to refuse payment of taxes by assuaances that their lands will be safe, and admits that the action which take Government one taking must open the eyese of the ryot to the danger of the course the non-co-operations are urging him to take. He further

declares that the non-co-operation committee must know that serious disorders must result from their campaign.

One would naturally expect the people's representative to approve the measures which Government have taken to reveal to the ryots the danger of the course they are adopting especially in view of his admission of its effeciency. But what do we find? After arraiging the extremists and proving the unscrupulous and dangerous character of their activities, he says that Government ought to recall the military and the peamitine police and withdraw their notifiaation. He speaks of the Government allowing village officers to resume their duties and giving ryots ~~none ti~~ more time to consider and pay taxes as if the non-payment of taxes movement in ~~genten~~ Guntur were began yesterday, as if the Government had not exercised too much forbearance already- It is now over a fortnight since the Guntur extremist leaders tirumphantly declared that the civil disobedience campaign had emptied the Government treasuries and offices,. Since then things have been going from bad to worse and only when all other methods of persuasion had failed did the Government issue their notification. Yet Mr.Subba Rao desires its withdrawal and Government activity postponed..

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90. 28-1-1922.

FOMENTING A REVOLT.

Owing to the activities of Extremist agitators a critical situation has arisen in Assam. Working upon the ignorance and credulity of the ignorant coolies the ensaries of revolution are spreading panic and indiscipline among the mass of workers on tea estates and in the villagers persuading them by ~~his~~ lies and half truths that the Government is powerless and the ~~gandlman~~ Gandhian Swaraj is established. Boycott and intimidation are among their most potent weapons. Food supplies are being cut off from estates owing to extremist intimidation of the suppliers. In one bazaar in Assam there have handly been any local supplies for weeks and though the Europeans resident in the affected areas are making every effort to make good the deficiency there is considerable suffering throughout the whole district. The r result is naturally that the coolies are becoming very nervous and exited. Our calcutta correspondent points out that the situation is so grave that there is a danger of a partial rising similar to the Moplah insurrection. "An out break" he adds could be easily suppressed, but adds, "could be easily suppressed but the effect would be the abandonment of the ~~gondens~~ gardens by the scared coolies to the great loss of the industry".

And we would add to the great distress of the coolies. Our correspondent is no scaremouger His warning is fully endorsed by the facts appearing in our calcutta contemporary the "Statesman". A silly rumour to the effect that a band of mill men who planning to attack a garden so firghtened the coolies working thereon that they all wanted to flee and it was only after a great deal of persuation that the manager induced them to continue work. Coolies and villagers are being persuaded, and some we are told are already quite

convinced that Gandhi will rule before long and that hard work will no longer be necessary for anyone that rice will be obtainable at Rs.2 per maund, and that tea gardens will be divided among those working thereon. It is by such despicable methods as these that the Extremist agitator seeks to provoke that the coolies to revolt against the present authorities.

These methods bear a strong resemblance to the methods used by Extremists in Gunter and throughout India generally. The nature of the lies and false promises charges according to district but their essential bassness remidies. An Assam coolies are told that under the gandhian Swaraj rice will be cheaper and estates divided. In gunton ryots are assured that if the revolution succeeds and the Extremist dictation secures power, there will no taxes or less to pay. There is a same ness about all revolutionary propaganda. In france before the revolution the peaseants and citizens were told that if the aristacracy were killed bread wold be plentiful. In Russia the Bolsheviks held but the partition of estates as an inducement to peasants to join them. In England today the favourite cry of the communist is "equal division of land and capital". There is no originality in the India Extremist's methods. Nor will the effect of his activities be different. Bloodshed wholesale suffering widespread hatred and national disorganisation are the inevitable fruit of revolution. The Bolsheviks, having by a successful revolution and years of dictationship reduced Russia to beggary and starvation brought untold suffering and death to millions of p innocent toilers in town and country are now res systems they overthrow. Bolshevism had faile the Extremists blinded by race hatred and pr to learn anything from the Experience of o

to ~~divine~~ drive India along the bloody paths which Russia had tord. Ever since the administration by a Madras Politician of the scheme to boycott British Industiries in India, this campagin against the Assam tea gardens has been ruthlessly persued. The sufferings of the coolies who follow his wild advice matters ought to the extremists propagandist. He seeks to destroy and all else is subordinate to that dim. If the Extrermist campaign in Assam succeeeds what will be the result? Thousand and tern of thousands of men women and children will be rendered homless and workless a great industry which brings riches to India shaltered and India's industrial devleopment retarded for generation. It is no use shutting an eyes to ~~privous~~ obvious facts. The Extremist campaign in Assam is a determined attempt to ruin a great industry. Successful there the revolutionaries. would attack other great industries in India. How can they be defeated~~ly.~~? By the prompt co-operative action of all loyal supporters of constitutional Government and the Government themselves. There is no time to lose. The Extremist has got a long start and only vigorous counter propaganda and loyalists, compled with firm Government action to protect the law abiding can defeat them thus saving millions from untold suffering.

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92.

3-2-1922.

A R O U S E D.

Good news comes from Home today: Great Britain is being aroused to the granty of the situation in India. Whatever it be that has suddenly awakened the London Press to the critical condition of affairs here whether Lord North inffe's urgent dispatches or the cablegrams of member journalists anent the civil disobedience campaign in Assam guntur on elsewhere, it is extremely gratifying to observe that journels at Home are at last giving the Indian situation a small portion of the attention it deserves. Their comments of course vary with their political complexion. That staunch upholder of Mr. Montagu and all his works the "Daily chronicle" is not purturbed. It regards the Reforms constitution as a safety value and consideres that because of it the Government can face the Extremist propaganda and agitation with more confidence. Loyalists in India reading this comment will doubtless remark "Then why don't the Governmnt has preferred to turn their back on the agitation to ignore as far as possible its existence, leaving the local Governments to face and fight the forces of disorder. If the Government of India share the "Daily chronicle's belief in the efficacy of the constitution as a safety valve and premsuably the paper is voicing the views of its party to which both Mr.Montagu e and Lord Reading belong the right thing for then to do is to go to the central Legislative and demand a vote of confidence in the measures they are taking and a mandate for whatever further steps may be found necessary to cope with the Extremists revolution. The defeat of the note of censure a week ago amounted to a vote confidence in the Government it is true but it would be a much greater demonstration of the

Liberal Minister's and the Liber Viceroy's faith in the Reforms if they were to ask bluntly for a note of confidence.

The remark of the "Daily News" is hardly worthy of comment. The journal long ago feel from its former high psoition as a responsible organ of public opinion. It is now nothing but an ~~organ~~ medium for the expression of waited views and the disseniuation of still wilder and misleading news. In its struggle for existence in its effort to hold its own against the avowed socialist "Daily Herald", it out dates the reddest Vapouring of the communist press. Like Revolutionary flaslems in India, the Daily News, seeksto obscure the crimes of the Moplahs behind a cloud of falsehood and misrepresentation about that tragic blunder, the prisoner train disaster. The "Morning Post" much closer in touch with India problesm and their sources than any other journal in London attack s Mr.Montagu. It seeks in this avowed adviser of Mr.Gandhi India's arch revolutionary a contributing cause to the present crises. And who can say that the journal is wrong. The conjecture that influence has been apparent in the unwillingness of the Government of India to take action against revolution is quite justified by past experience of India office interference in Indian adminitration. The "Westminister gazeettee" predicts failure for civil disobedience. This prophecy, however can only be fulfilled of the Government of India adopting a determined attitude towards the Extremists At present their policy is vacilliating between firmness and weekness, between deal[illegible] the law-breakers and conciliating them. It [illegible] rnment like our own to set an exa[illegible] Government

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Here in guntur we see the success attending definite uneconomical action. Here, confronted by a Government determined to unforce the law the supporters of Civil Disobedience are ~~warnering~~ wavering. Many have changed their minds and paid their taxes and resumed their offices. Others will follow suit and than order will ragi in Guntur. Meanwhile if the awakening of Britain to the seriousness of the Indian situation leads to a firma policy at the India office and in the India Government loylaists in India will be greatful indeed.

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92. 4.2.1922.

HEADS I WIN! TAILS YOU LOSE!

An ultimatum has been lauhched at the Viceroy by the Extremist Dictation. It is a carefully warded ultimatum from the Extremists point ofview. The framer of it does not intend to run any risks. Our heading seems up the substance of this propasals. He makes many demands Extremists who have been imprisoned for breaking the law must be released, extremist journals which have been fixed for breaking the law must have have their fines returned and be permitted once more to spread seditions and provocative doctrines among the masses and extremist should be allowed to persue their career of intimidation and coercion under the guise of the so-called non-violent activities such as picketing and house to house visitation. In short the revolutionary party must be allowed to continue their dangerous activities without let or hindrance. In return for this the Extremist Dictator will large the post ponement of active civil disobedience by his fo llowers and will confine his party's attention to preparing the c ountry for it at a time more suitable to him-self and his partisans.

But wait. The postponement of active civil disobedience in the event of the Govern ment yielding to Mr.Gandhi's demands will be reserved when in the opinion of the Extremist "Governmen depart from their policy of strictest neutrality and fail to yield to the clearly expressed opinion of the vast majority of the people of India. That is the guide Pro quo which the extremist Dictator offers to the Government in return for the latter's abandoning their duties of Governing the country and leaving the loyal and the law abiding masses to the mercies of revolutionary gangs, eupporiously

called volunteers. There is only one course open to the Viceroy he must reject this presumptions proposal with the contempt it deserves.

But the Extremist Dictators, letters is ~~none~~ more than an ultimatum. It is a confession of impotency of inability to control the forces ~~be~~ he had aroused. His letter to the Viceroy with its reference to a postponement of aggressive civil disobedience is a significant admission of the Dictator's powerlessness. But instead of meeting the situation like a man seeking to keep his followers in hand until he has desciplined than Mr.Gandhi attempts to throw the flame for the lawlessness which must accompany the latest phase of his movement upon the Government. It is a cowardly none but will we think deceive no one who reads the letter carefully. Friends of peace and good order, citizens who value personal liberty and safety of life and property, will see in it but one ~~now~~ more speer to co-operation with the constitutional Government.

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93.

7-2-1922.

POLICEMEN MURDERED.

Seventeen more policemen have been cruely done to death by Extremist Volunteers. In many respects it is a repetition of the terrible outrages at Malegan and reveals many of the details of pion organisation which the evil incidents of the town displayed. While the mob were indulging in the orgy of murder and incendiarian at chaur "volunteerrs" in Bareilly in the north, were planning a great procession. The Procession took place indefience. Of the law and attempt was made to seize the Town Hall the police were stoned and compelled to retaliate by firing. This is in the United Province. In our own Presidency at Rajahmundry and the adjacent villages, "Volunteers" armed with bamboo staffs defying the policy and suborning the populace. Extremist has run avoke.

Revolution is rempant throughout India. Encouraged by the weakness of a Government which as between firmness and conciliation the arch propagators of revolution have sown unhindered their terrible seed among an ignorant populace, untill today lawlessness and disorder dominate the country. The Extremist Dictator is fearful and afraid because he knows that the day of reckoning will come that he must one deny pay the penalty of the awful crimes of which he is the prime cause-.........Soft words high sounding phrases cannot for ever await to conceal guilt.

If India is to be saved from the terrors of internecine strife her Government must first make it clear that they intend to Govern in the fullest sense of the word. No longer should licence be allowed to parade as liberty.....

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The life of the nation the peace and security of millions of loyal and law abiding subjects demand that Government firmly enforce the law, suppress all forrce tending, to lawlesness and proclaim once for all that constitutionalism not revolution shall prevail in India.

It is the duty of every citizen of India to support the Government in fighting the revolutionaries. Let us not be deceived by the glowing phrases of the Extremist Megappones. Behind these speakers are the emissaries of bloodshed and incendianism the men responsible for Malegaon Malabar and many other outrages. India can be saved from that fate only by the promopt and firm action of her Government supported openly by all loyal citizens.

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94. 13-2-1922.

FEARFUL AND AFRAID.

Driven by fear of the consequences of the Chauri-Chaura ~~chami chamra~~ outrages the working committee of the Extremists congress has passed a resolution urging local extremist committees to suspend mass civil Disobedience and similar offensive activity. The resolution is a confession of the committee's guilt an admission of its blame worthiness for wilfully ignoring facts which have been ~~xxxx~~ perfectly plain to all the world. It begins: "In view of the fact that every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent some popular violent outburst has taken place indicating that the atmosphere of the country is not non violent enough for mass civil disobedience..... The working committee of the Congress resolves etc. "This atmosphere was not unknown to the Extremists before they started their civil disobedience campaign. It was apparent to the most illiterate and unobservant of citizens. But the extremist leaders chose wilfully to ignore it. And ever as recently as last Thursday when India was ringing with public expressions of horror at Chami Chamra the Extremist dictation wrote in Young India civil disobedience must continue at any cost. Heat least was unrepresent.

What has brought about the change in the Extremists attitude. Nothing less than the fear that unless they do hold their hand they will stampede largemembers of their followers to the side of defenders of law and order the protections of life and property, namely the constitutional Governm[ent]. Frantic appeal have been sent to Mr.Gandhi urging him to stop the civil disobedience campaign by Extremist leaders

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in the United Provinces. The feeling of alarm prevailing in that province has spread to others. Many of those who have thrown in their lot with the Extremists are fearful of what may happen once the Extremist programme is in full swing. They know that the constitutional forces must win in the long run but they fear that meanwhile much bloodwill be shed and much property destroyed and they realise that an indignant populace is not likely to deal lightly with those who have propagated the creed of civic indiscipline and disorder. Hence these frantic appeals to theExtremist Dictator and his colleagues. And these latter anxious to retain their hold on their dreefes, have decided on the suspension of their subversive civil disobedience movement until they think that they have sown the seeds of disorder sufficiently widely to ensure that the more timorous of their ranks. The Extremist committee's action is based on expediency not repentence on fear of loss of power, not a desire to save India from disaster. Therefore loyalists must continue their the remitting war on revolutionary propaganda.

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95. 16-2-1922.

MR.MONTAGU'S DEFENCE.

Beyond question the most important Beature in the House of commons debate on the vote of censure on Mr. Montagu was his affirmation that the Government of Indiaare solely repsonsible for the policy hitherto adopted towards the Extremist. This being so, we find placed on the shoulders of the Government of India a terrible responsiblility The Viceroy and his colleagues must in the Government must alone answer for the vaccillating policy which has encouraged non-co-operators Khilafats and Bolsheviks in India. Theitr mis placed tolerance of revolutionary agitation has brought India to the verge of interview war. The Moplah rebellion the Bombay Malegaon and cham chamra outrages to ~~xxxxx~~ mention only a few of the Extremist execesses are attributed in no small measure to the weakness of the Government of India in permitting the extremists to conduct unhampered their feel propaganda, India is not yet safe for the law abiding and the Government of India are face to face with dangers fed largely by their own folly.

The people of great Britain ~~hear~~ have no enmity towards India. Their only concern is that the progress towards selfGovernment shall be smooth and untarnished by ~~terroil~~ turmoil and strife, that the future Government of India shall be based on the essential foundation of fairness and the ultimate responsibility of the people unfranchised and ~~the~~ free for the Government of their country. Since the Parliament passed the Reforms act the British in India and at home for the great part accepted the position created thereby and worked cordially for the fulfilment of the aims there in contained notwithstanding the dastardly campaign of race hatred bitterly and relentlessly persued by the Extremists. Therefore the policy and general attitude of

the British people remain eunchanged. The issue in India is none is not whether the country shall progress along constitutional lines towards self Government but whether the Extremists shall be allowed to over throw the Government and substitute Bolshevism for constitutionalism. What India most needs is a strong and effieient Government with a settle policy. Mr.Montagu's mistake has been almost fatal to the peace of India. This was rectified.

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96. 21-2-1922.

PROPAGANDA VS TRUTH.

Truth says an old adge, is stranger than fiction. This saying however, does not apply when the friction is Extremist propaganda. Nothing could be more strange more unre unreal than the stuff which non-co-operation Khilafat and Bolshevik orators pour out for the consumption of their followers and such others as are credulous enough to listen to them Extremist propaganda is not merely false. It is malicious and unscrupulous. Calling and slander are the chami chamra out rage are being standered. In our own presidency we see big guns directed against those who have been defending law abiding and peaceful citizens of Malabar and even friends of the Extremists them-selves against the violence of Moplah leaders. In a local Extremist journal a photograph of a boy alleged to have been mained by Gurkha soldier has been published and in the same journal and on Extremist platforms what support to be detail of this and other alleged outrages have been given. The Madras Government have challengeed one Extremist leader Mrs. Sarojini Naidu to give facts and evidence she wisely enough, has avoided doing so, though she maintains her malicious charges.

In each case the charges rest on the statements of the alleged victims in one case a boy of it and in another of a woman. In both they are on the face of them highly improbable and neither Mr.Andrews nor any Extremist has laid definite charges before the authorities against those who are alleged to have committed the crimes. But this of course is in keeping with non-co-operation and Khilafat methods. They cannot run the risk of losing a good

propaganda cry by investigating its truthfulness. Mrs. Naidu talks of "atrocities for which Martial law was responsible she makes these outrages charges on her evidence and abuses men who have ~~sand~~ saved thousands of her sisters from worse than death. But herx unscrupulous allegations have been answered by those of her fellow countrymen who know the truth. Fifteen Thousand citizens of Malabar attended a conference at Calicut on Sunday at which resolutions were passed urging the Government to station troops in all important centres in Ernad and Walluvanad and asserting that the administration of ~~Mental~~ Martial law was ~~first~~ just ~~beware~~ humane and successful. We have in the contrast between the Extremists propaganda about Malabar and the reply by Malabr citizens are striking instance and the differnace between such propaganda and truth. A ~~matter~~ nation may be decieved once, on even a hundred times but it will not be decived for ever.

97.

27-2-1922.

FIRST STEPS TO ANARCHY.

For sheer humbug the resolution passed by the Extremist congress committee regarding Civil disobedience excels anything of its kind we have ever seen A little while ago the working committee of the Extremist congress decided to postpone the revolutionary activities known as Civil disobedience as a result of chaur chaura outrages......... The extremist dictator is either a believer in that policy or the weak and not unwilling tool and those who advocate it or he is both. His conduct supports the better view since it reveals him as a political weather cock trimming his views to very passing breeze in the extremist camp.

The new resolution of the Extremist congress advocates under the guise of permission the breaking of laws and regulations by its members and those foolish or week enough to be duped by their propaganda. Civil Disobedience which was postponed was so loudly and self righteously proclaimed by the Congress Press a few days ago is to be resumed. Picketing of cloth and liquor shops and the direct defiance of the law and order is to begin again and persued more vigorously than ever. Mobs of thousands may break the law on set the authority at defiance and so long as they do it individually as well as collectively the Extremist congress gives their action its blessings. The ryots of Bandoli the taxpayers of Ganjan may again refuse to pay taxes or obey the law but they must not say they are doing it an mass. They must henceforth call themselves chosen individuals or a select group. What cunning subterfuge the whole business strike in the hostils of every honest man.

What is the import of this latest Extremist move? We find that the Extremists revolutionaries and Bolsheviks at heart have again taken the first step to plunge the

country into anarchy. Followed out the resolution passed by the Extremists at Delhi on saturday can have but one out come revolution bloody and terrible. Chauri Chaura was a fore taste of what India must expect unelss for Government with the co-operation of all law abiding citizens fight with all their strength against the seditionists whether these pass under the clock of non-co-operation or of the Khilafat party. The extremists are prepared to plunge the country into disorder to see mobs possessed of the blood bust run though the land so long as they can faster their own vite plans.

It is for loyal law abdiing peace loving India to counter the revolutionary organisation with one of their own to fight tennoison with force if need be all who break the law and against all who by ~~pxmx~~ its breach are accessiories to their crimes.

98.

3.3.1922.

THE REBELLION AGAIN.

The Moplah rebellion again formed the subject of discussion in the Legislative assembly yesterday. The rebellion has we think been discussed and raresean but it speaks much for the Solicitude for his unfortunate country men of that well known Hindu landholder of Malbar Mr.Kavalapara Muppil Nair, who speaks with although knowledge and the facts to have moved for the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials ~~ot~~ in~~give~~quire into the extent of distress in Malabar and to suggest relief measures. There is no question that distress prevails to an alarming extent in the devastated areas of Malabar; but there searcely seems any necessity for the Government of India to appoint a committee to inquire into the matter or to suggest measures of relief. The question of affording relief to the malabar refuges is already engaging the attention of the Madras Government Mr.A.R.Knapp the ~~pr~~Special commissioner for Malbar affairs who is engaged in reconstruction work, has appointed a committee of local men to make the necessary enquiries and to organise relief. Private ~~Micorthroughly~~ philanthrophy has done much and the Madras Government have issued orders for the gr~~eat~~ant of loans to agriculturists on easy terms and also of individual loans to tenants upon the guarantee of the landlords wherever possible. All that is possible is being done for the refugees, and the Government's refusal to accept the motion was only to be expected. If the debate served any useful purpose at all it was in the note of warning sounded by the Home Member to those who mislead ignorant masses in connexion with the Khilafat propaganda. It also served to allay the altogether unfounded apprehensions of the Moplah Member of the Assembly that Government and the Rebil committee in Malabar are deaf to the cries of suffering Moplah women and children

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Sir william Vincent's reply was that both Hindu and Muslims would be treated alike in carrying out of relief measures. As Mr. Schamnad now satisfied that he was drawing upon his inauguration when he stated that relief was denied to Moplah women and children in pursuance of a policy which ~~arrivved~~ aimed at the extennuation of the Moplahs as a race from Malabar? We hope so.

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99. 8-3-1922.

STOP THEM.

In declaring in London that "Government should feel that the time had come when Gandhi's antiGovernment activities should no longer be allowed to continue "Mr.Srinivasa Sastri voiced the opinion of every loyal and law abiding citizens in India. It is an opinion which has often been expressed in India. But it gains inforce when expressed in the capital of the Empire by an Indian who enjoys the confidence of all sane Indians and of most western leaders, whose life has been spent is the service of his Mother Country and who while naturally desiring for her the speedy attainment of com plete selfgovernment recognises that as matters now stand India is not ready for full dominion states. Extremists now lose no opportunity of attacking Mr.Srinivasa sastri and delitting his work and defanning his character. But we in India know that a few years ago these self same Extremists applauded his woddom and acclaimed his policy. The difference between then is that while they have passed from wisdom to folly the fo[illegible] of a child who would play with fire Mr.Sastri has gained [illegible] wisdom by reason for his experience has appraised rightly [illegible]e value of the reforms to India and is anxious to see India [illegible]rogressing along the constitutional path they open for her to the goal of complete dominion states.

There is a striking contrast between Mr.Srinivasa Sastri and the dict[illegible]tor whose anarchial activities he would now see ended. The [illegible]rmer is an study lower if his country a steadfast worker for t[illegible] nation's welfare. The latter is a political weather cock [illegible]hose attitude towards national problems merely indicates the [illegible]ource of the latest wind he has encountered Mr.Gandhi advances a plea of justification for the grossest outrages like that of chauri chaura he works hard to

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condone the Delhi Extremist résolutions regarding that dangerous policy of civil Disobedience in the light of the ~~Bengali~~ Bardoli decisions. He persuades himself that he has succeeded and his followers, especially the noisy fighting elements among them acclaim his efforts. But he has convinced no sober Indian. He is a danger to the country and so such should they urge be deprived of the opportunity to do further harm.

Mr . Montagu declared a few days ago that the Government of India had resolved to ~~unrest~~ arrest Mr.Gandhi but had decided to hold their pands in the light of the Bardoli resolution postponing civil Disobedience. The Delhi resolutions nullify those of Bardoli...........Mr. Sastri urges it, all common sence Indians urge it, peace and seventy of person and property in India and the saved cause of liberty demand it, The imperative need of the situation in India today is the revelation of the identity of those who ware planning to introduce Bolshevist terrorism into the country. With Gandhi arrested these men will probably be driven into the open or at least they will have been deprived of their most effective cover.

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100. 11-3-1922.

MR. GANDHI ARRESTED.

Mr. Gandhi has been arrested. This is the best news we have been able to give our readers for many a long day. It is news which if the Extremists really mean what they say when they affect to rejoice at the prospect of imprisonment will be received with joyful acclaim throughout India. Loyal and lawabiding citizens lowers of peace and freedom! Will ~~acclaim~~ acclaim it as removing a menace to their most cherished possessions. It is cheerful news but not unexpected. The arrest of Mr.Gandhi has been inevitable ever since the day on which the Extremist congress committee at Delhi passed resoltuons annualling the Bardoli decision to postpone civil disobedience. The extremists are now committeed to a policy which must inevitably result in disorder and bloodshed throughout the country. Mr.Gandhi on the eve of the arrest revealed his own misgivings regarding his policy. He says". The more I think over our future programme and the more news I get about the spirit of violence that has silently but surely crept into our ranks the more convinced I am that even individual civil disobedience would be wrong. "This is tardy repentence on the part of the man who frame the Delhi resolutions permitting Extremist pentisans and dupes to indulge in Civil Disobedience. It is the awakening of a poor fool who has allowed himself to be made the tool of Bolsheviks and revolutionaries. The Government by arresting him have saved him from the full consequences of his folly, and have rescued him from the monster he created. But they have d... more. They have compelled ~~the~~ the Bolsheivks and rev... tionaries in India to show their hand. Their action ... not, at a single blow and have brought peace to In... has however, saved to reassure law abiding citiz... the Government really mean to Govern that the ... ..les about the Government fearing Mr.Gandhi ...

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masters are false. It seems that we have entered on a new era in India an era of the firm enforcement of law of suppression of coercion and intimidation and coercion what ever for it may take and of decision xxgxx representation by the Government of the nation's views. If this be really so India is fortunate indeed and her Government will enjoy the whole hearted support of all loyal citizens. For the country is a weary of in diceision and weakness, the charactristics of the Government's policy in the recent past.

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101.

17-3-1922.

THE REVOLUTIONARIES' SANITORIUM.

No wonder the Extremists hail with delight the chance to go to prison. The marvel is that so many of them contrive to keep out side. It must be because they are dubious of the benefits which prison life affords despite the Ali Brothers 'tributes to its many benefits. It is improbable however that these tho mases will doubt any longer once they read of the good time which Mr.Gandhi and his friend are having in the Sabarmati jail. On the contrary we anticipate such a rest for admission to jail that even the prison copper if Indian prisons possess such things. Will be filled with a smiling Extremist delighted to be able to call himself within its narrow confines. Mr. Gandhi and Mr.Banker are to be invited their rooms are spotlessly clean and well vetilated They eat and drink that they like and pass their time merrily singing the song of the charker presumably and cracking jokes abou t the jailors. They are allowed to entertain as much as they wish and no limits are placed on the number of letters t they may write. To them prison is not a duengeon dark dismal and forbidding it is a salloon a carefully guarded., sweetly cleaned abode where removed from the turnoil and cares of the outer world they may enjoy life and note it carefully propagate their revolutionary creed under the protection of the Government they seek to overthorw. What is the object of all this? Do the Government of Bombay hope to convert the revolutionary dictator by kindness? Perhaps but if they do they are far more senguine than the majority of loyal citizens in India. These can see no purpose in arresting a man and then allowing him to continue unabatted the offence for which he was arrested the propaganda of revolutionary and seditions doctirines.

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102. 21.3.1922.

FRUITS OF GANDHISM.

Were it necessary to adduce further evidence to condemn gandhism the telegram would provide it. The message shows that for some days past Peshawar has been afflicated by hands of terriosts who by violence and intimidation have sought to coerce the people into boycotting the roayal visit and observe a hartal. These terrorists failed in their main purpose, ~~th~~ they boycott as the report of our own correspondent and that of the Associated press showed, but they succeeded in enforcing a hartal, and have since been busy assaulting and threatening Government servants and Government supporters. The result of this bullying is that Peshawar today is without a telegraph office on a post office, Government having rightly decided that they cannot require their servants to work under conditions inimical to personal safety. Who will suffer? The whole city will suffer but the workers and traders will suffer most being deprived of essential means of communication. The hooligans and Extremist agitators fed and clothed out of funds subscribed to by dupes and for helpless illiterates coerced into subscribin to a fund whose purpose they did not understand they wil not ~~suf~~ suffer. Happily the authroities are taking steps to deal with situation effectively but with the best will in the world they cannot restore normal conditions immediately to a city where the bulk of armed and cowardly gongs. Peshwaar presents to day a picture of Gandhiism in practice, it is consumed with the fire of nobele with which Gandhi admits he was playing It is however a lesson for India, a call to the peaceful and lawab iding to rally to the side of Government to strengthen the authorities in their endeavour to preserve law and order.

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102 (a) 23-3-1922.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Were not mischievous misrepresentation of Government policy so rampant in India a protest might justly be made regarding the protest might continual procession of deputationist to the Viceroy on the subject of Indians in South Africa. The policy of the Government of India on this subject should by this time be familiar to every citizen. The Government have proclaimed over and over again their intention to fight for the recognition of the right of the Indians in south Africa to full citizenship in the Dominion. They ~~how~~ have never ~~warned~~ wavered in their championship of this claim.

It is necessary to stress the Viceroy's reference to the neeed for a patience and goodwill especially in views o of the persistency with whch the Extremist elements in India are busy fostering enmity between the races and impatience with constitutional methods. Hostility and impatience cannot advance India's case in the Dominions least of all in south Africa. As we have pointed out before the "Indians in South Africa" question is largely an economic question. Lord Reading endorses our view. ~~He declares that the true avenue for the view.~~ He declares that the ~~ture~~ true avenue for the advance of the Indian domiciled community in south Africa is to be found in a desire to progress in Education and a determination to prove themselves in all respects as deserving as the Europeans of the full rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Once Indian can prove that they offer no meance to the standard of living tothe european in south Africa and that they do not desire to oust the Europeans by the fair competition, from trade and industry then their fight for equal citizenship will have been won. The fight is a struggle for a standard if

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xxliving. Europeans in South Africa rightly or wrongly, hold that Indians menace that standard and it is for Indian to convince then otherwise. Retailiatory measures in India which unwise counsellors and extremists urge, would be foolish and futile.

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103.

30.3.1922.

A NEW EXTREMIST GOSPEL.

It would be a very good thing for India if all Extremist agitators were to follows the example of the editor of the Bombay chronicle' and take a trip to England. They might come back as he has done with a widened outlook on Indian politics, and convinced as he now is, of the foolishness of the race hatred campaign. And they might hasten as he has done, to strive to persudae the world that the Extremists have never bated their Englaish fellowmen that all their past allusions to the latter's faults and all their efforts to allusions to attribute all the ills of India to the presence of British officials, merchants professors and the rest, were merely signs of the overwhelming affection they bore Britons. They might as he did in England and will do in India find the English man incredulous should they repeate his statement that the Indian nation (by which term like all Extremists, he meant his own particular party) cares not a job whether a particular post is held by an Englishman over Indian ",they may find themselves greeted Indian with a smile of amused recepticism. If too, they repeat his assertion that Non-co-operators have rully no hatred of the English non any murderous designs against the British In India"., loyal Indians and Europeans, who have been assailed in season and out by lies and misrepresentations who have received threats of assault and murder who have seen men assaulted simply because they were British or loyal to great Britain may be excused if they frankly express their disbelief.

For the truth remains that non-co-operation and its allies, Khilfaatism and Bolshevism, are distinctly and decidedly anti British. The Extremist propaganda has aimed and still aims. at fostering race hatred. Thus it is that we see so much insistence laid on the word "British" in reference to anything which displeases the Extremist and to which the epithat can be even remotly applied. Mr.Gandhi has always been one of the

~~worst offenders in this r~~

worst offenders in this respect. By suggestion and irrundo he has done more than anyone else to raise prejudice against the European in India. His assertion of friendhsip have always been made with his tongue in his cheek. Few have heeded them none has believed in then and to his following they have seen to so many avilable platitudes.

The editor of the "Bombay chronicle" rightly appreicates the evil which this race hatred propaganda has done to the cause of India. He is evidently seeking to undo some of the harm preaching the gospel of frinedship.

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104.

27.4.1922.

A JUDGE'S STRIÇTURES.

Time and again occasion has arisen in India during the past few years to remind the Central or a Provincial Government that revolution is not scotched by arresting dupes and learning their seducers at Liberty. The Government of India lay their almost criminal tolerance of Mr.Gandhi and the Ali Brothers set a bad example to authority throughout India of which the effect is still felt. The latest instance of this dangerous tolerance reaches us from Kumbakonam. In April 1921 there was serious rioting in this town and a number of the rioters were arrested. They were placed on trial and convicted and nine appealed against the sentence. The judgment in the appeal heard by Mr.A.J. Kind I.C.S,, was delivered last week and contains remarks which constitute severe strictures on the conduct of the police in dealing with the ~~matt~~ matter. These remarks police deserve public notice. They show that the policy of allowing agents Provocatures to go free while arresting their victims still animates certain sections of the police force in this Presidency and emphaisese the necessity of firm Government intervention to secure that the energies of their servants be rightly directed. The riot according to the police prosecution c ase was instigated by one Ramabadra odayar, who had been delivering a provocations speech to a large crowd. The agent provacature was not arrested though the part he took in arousing the feelings of the mob was well known to the police. On this point the District Magistrate remarks "Ramabadra Odayar the prime instigator of the whole trouble has not been prosecuted;.......I can see no adequate expla[illegible] Ramabadra Odayar go scot free. The explanati[illegible] that his prosecution even at this late h[illegible]

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consideration does not commend itself to me". Nor will it commend itself to any other ordinary person. They will find as did the district Magistrate who refers to the ~~xm~~ matter again and again in his judgement considerable difficulty in understanding why the instigator of the riot was left untouched and they will suspect that other influences than those of regard for strict justice has been at work in connection with the prosecution.

This condemnation of the procedure adopted does not stand alone. Mr.Watson I.C.S. who conducted a public enquiry into the rioting has also in his report specifically stated that Ramabadra Odayar was the cause of all the dis orders in the term. And even the Extremist inquiry failed to absolve him from blame. A correspondent inquiry failed to absolve him from blame. A correspondent writing from Kumbakonam assures us that there was not wanting evidence regarding the part played by Ramabadra Odayar provoking the mob. He declares that there is a feeling of resentment in the town at the methods followed by the police, and adds that there is much talk about there being one law for the rich and another for the poor! "Ramabadra Odayar being "he adds, "a rich landlord". Such talk may be dismissed as baseless but never was there a time when it was more incumbent upon the authorities, to avoid giving any ground for it and above all for refraining from action which leads the illiterate masses to believe that the Government are affaid to touch the bigger man of the country. It is to be hoped for the sake of civic discipline and in the interests of law and order that the Madras Government will look into this matter. The case cannot be left where Mr.King's [illegible]

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105.

3-5-1922.

A DANGER TO PUBLIC PEACE.

Should avowed revolutionaries be allowed to carry and possess arms? Public attention has been called to this question by the action of the District Magistrate of Benaras in calling on a leading member of the Extremist Party to surrender the arms in his possession. Hitherto little thought has been given by the average citizen to the dangers involved in the granting of licenses to possess arms to men who are self proclaimed enemies of the Government and all constitutional politics. Yet it is a very real danger as a review of the details of revolutionary outrages during the past two years times. Law abiding citizens have denounced the crimes committeed by revolutionaries and have demanded the punishment of offenders but they have given no thought to the fact that by granting revolutionaries and anti-constitutionalists permission to possess arms the Government as represented by the licensing officers have given the revolutionaries power to repeat their crimes again and again. The seriousness of the matter is easily demonstrated. The possession of arm by men who are declared enemies of constitutional Government men who have not hesitated to excuse the excesses of their fellow revolutionaries and who under the guise of non-violence play upon the violent passions and prejudices of illiterate masses, constitutes a real menace to the public peace.

This menace is much more serious than is generally supposed. In Madras for instance some of the most in[...] of the Extremist hold licenses to possess and [...] One family whose head has poured money in[...] cause possesses no fever than eight fire[...]

modern automatic weapons. In desperate hands these could cause many casualities before their users were overcome. Other well known members of the anti-Government party possess licensed revolvers and other fire arms, and it is fair suppose in view of the frequency with which fire arms have figured instruct fracas and revolutionary outrages in this and other parts of India that there are not a few who possess arms for which no license has been taken out. The question of unlicensed fire arms is one for the police investigations to deal with, although the law abiding citizen has also apart to play.in this connection. For, be it noted, under section 28 of the Indian Arms act every person aware that another possess unlicensed arms is requiet to give information thereof to the police. The possession of unlicensed arms is an offence for which severe punishment may be awarded but the discovery of such offenses take time. Not much time is however necessary for the authorities to discover persons belonging to the revolutionary daily who possess licensed to keep the fire arms. They are already known to the authorities and the point which the authorities should now decide is whether it is not dangerous to the public place that these fire arms should remain in the possession of such hostile elements.

The District Magistrate of Benares had decided that it is contrary to those interests and with his view of all loyal and law abiding citizens must agree. ~~So~~ To ~~he~~ we suspect a man need not be a believer in violence. It is sufficient ~~it he censorts~~ if he consorts with men who are prepared to indluge in violence, and who can say that violence is absent from the Extremist movement in India? Not an Extremist leader Even Mr. Gandhi does not dare to make that claim. And the presence of fire arms in an Extremists' house is a perpetued temptation to the violent

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elements among the revolutionaires to seize and use them especially after their passions have been aroused by the provocative speeches which form so important a part of the revolutionary propaganda in this country. In fire the time has come for the authorities to scrutinise the list of those possessing fire arms and to decide whether it is not better to prevent outrage by revowing the means to commit it than to wait till evil is done and then punish those concerned therein. Moreover, no no violent revolutionary needs arms. His creed forbids his owning than since it preaches tolerance of all different even to his household. The Extremist ~~the~~ who possess arms avows himself a believer in- ~~xixt~~ violence and by his own action emphasises the danger of allowing him to possess them.

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106. 105-1922.

B R A V O.

Nearly nine months ago the Madras Corporation pre-jected by a majority of two a proposal to place women on an ~~cornal~~ equal footing with men in regard to eligibility for election to the city council. Yesterday evening, the corporation, resolved without a dissentient voice to request the Government to nominate to the council an Indian Lady. That is ~~progressx~~ progress as the Madras Corporation understands it. In nine months the political Peter Pans who defeated the resolution of September last have grown up sufficiently to accept the nomination of an Indian body to be one of their sedate and so-mmolescent gathering. We do not know to what cause this rapid growth is to be attributed, but we have a suspicion that the ladies of their house hold have been non-co-operating thus brininging their recalcitrant spouses to an understand-ing of the merits of women by a course of conduct suggested by a lady speaker at a women's ~~notes~~ protests to meeting in September last. What ever the reason the progress is welcome, specially welcome to ourselves who have always sought the complete enfranchisement of women, holding their presence in the councils of the nation to be necessary to its welfare progress and contentiment.

Nevertheless it would have been more fitting and more manly had the corporation decided to go the whole hog in the unfranchisement of woman and carried the resolution of last September. The present resolution is a limit step it puts the owes of nominating the Lady councillor on the Government. The Minister for Local selfGovernment intends for carryout the request at an early date, and something has thus been gained. But if the city councillors really believe

as their resolution says, that an Indian Lady councillor will 'be of the use in rendering the municipal administration of the city more beneficial especially to the needs of the women and children of the city" their proper course was to ask that all the disabilities of women in regard to election and nomination be removed. Why did they not do so? We think the reason can be explained. The Peter pans who oppose the women's emancipation movement are still infants in regard to modern political developments. Thier first step towards compelte understnaind are necessarily timid, and hesitant. Like little children learning to walk they are fearful of advancing and cling tightly to ancient customs and prejudices. But they will grow up Houses of Common sense and wise handling will strenghthen their political constitution and encourage their growth in modern ideas and it may be that before long they will run with the best.

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13-5-1922.

ECONOMIC SITUATION OF MALABAR. (Notes Sub-Leader)

The conclusions arrived at by the Hon'ble Mr. A.R. Napp on the eve of his relinquishing his duties as speciial commissioner for Malabar affairs on the economic situation of that country, corroborates the view that we have consistently held for some time past that the stories of widespread distress and devastation are grossly exaggerated. Our special correspondent who has recently visited Malabar has emphatically repudiated the highly coloured picture of Moplah suffering that is being systematically circulated by a certain class of people and Mr.Knapp's note supports his statement that there are no Moplah women going about in rags or almost naked for want of clothing. On the other hand according to the official report the Moplahs of Ernad appear to be more than usually prosperous. The explanation of this is to be found in the facttaht enormous sums of money looted from the public treaseries and from the houes of wealthy Hindu landlords still remain unrecovered. It is conceded, however, that in the near future conditions in Malbar will be such as to need some measure of relief being given to the people but Mr.Knapp believes in natural recuperation coupled of course with the help given by Government and private rowdies to sufferers who may be found to be really in need.

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108. 15-5-1922.

PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR SPEAKING. under the auspices of the South Indian Liberal Federation at Madras dwelt on the present Political situation in India. Speaking about India's states be observed. The first step has now been taken Indian was admitted as a members of the Dominion conference where with other delegates, her representative discussed common problems. India was now recognised as being an equal terms with Canada or Australia and she was entitled to make her voice heard on points vitally affecting her............Until the Secretary of State for India who who was the ruler of India was practically placed in the same position as Mr.Churchill in relation to the Dominions the anomalous situation has bound to continue;;;;;;; They should also prevent the Secretary of State for India from interfering with India's internal affairs ....The war office decided what was to be the strength of the army and the money required for its maintanance. All questions of defence should be divided by the Indian Government as well as the strength of the army and the money to be spent on it.......... But for the influence exercised by English merchants though the Secretary of state the Indian Railways would have been under the contorl of the Indian Government. Without this control it was impossible for Indian industries to prosper.

Speaking on provincial autonomy he said," Provincial autonomy would be welcomed, the Government of India in the interests of the whole and India prevented the Government of Madras from doing what they thought best. Madras should fix its own contribution to the Imperial Government often meeting her own imperative needs. It was therefore essential that regarding financial questions there should be provincial

~~autonomy-though-not-for-po~~

autonomy though not for popular control. Local needs should always have a prior claim.

It had been recognised that the Ministers that throughout India were not able to carry out their programme owing principally to the absence of necessary funds. The main reason for the failure of local self Government before the Reforms was that they were not adequately financed. Regarding education their complaint was the same. It was the intention of the Parliament that the Ministers should be responsible for education of the country development of industry and for the health of the people and these objects could not be carried out for lack of funds.

Regarding non-Brahmin movement he said that they needed opportunities for education and development Irrespective of all castes and creeds, the Government should ask the people of India to look to their material interests.

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109. 19-5-1922.

FOOLISH CLEMENCY.

When wisdom fails to instruct, Fate often teaches a stern lesson Time and again the Governments in India have been warned against the danger of allowing license to those sent to prison for revolutionary and seditors activities. They have been warned that clemency would be regarded as weakness to be traded upon at every opportunity. The Bengal Government disregarded these warnings. They continued to treat the revolutionaries and seditionists in their jails as a class apart. What was the result? Jail descipline was undermined the authority of the jail authorities lessened and in the end a menting of convincts resulting in the death of many misguided individuals.

The evidence given at the enquiry into the Calcutta jail meeting is a striking revolution of official slakness. According to a convict an educated man the Khilafat prisoners were not allowed to receive Extremist literature but they wer able to circulate the pernicious publications they obtained among the other convicts and to conduct what appears to have been anti Government propaganda among the prisoners. The non-Khilafat prionsers were urged by the Khilafatists to agitate against the authorities they were told the usual lies about the causing of the Gandhi Raj on December 31. last about Gandhi coming to break down the prison walls and in many other ways were led to rise against the jail authorities. The same convict also revealed how the lies about the treatment of Concits in jail which appear in Extremist journals are manufactured. We in Madras are very familiar with this form of Extremist propaganda. The local Extremist organs make much of these crude stories and though no thoughtful reader would be convinced by them it is well that the manner of their birth should have thus been

exposed.

The principle point broughtout in the evidence published today is that the Calcutta jail far from being a House of Connection for the Khilafatists was thanks to the foolish clemency of the authorities for which the Bengal Government were responsible turned by them ~~cite~~ into a manufac~~tory~~ure of further revolutionaries and seditionists. In view of the revelations now made it is hoped that we have heard the last and the demand that revolutionary and seditionist prisoners should be given special tretment and allowed special treatement and allowed special privileges enabled in shout to repeat in other jails the permissions activities which led to the Calcutta outbreak.

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Anglo Indian Counsellors. May 30th , 1922.

Attack may be a sound method of defence, but it is not the way to secure convats. Whenever we hear a man addressing his follower and vocally belabouring them for their apathy and general inertia we are reminded of the fable of the sum and the wind, and its moral that kindness and persuation will succeed where brute force and indent tiradas fail. The Anglo Indian community is unfortunate in possessing many would be counsellors who prefer the violent methods of the tube themper to the persuasiveness of the enargelist. One of those counsellors, a visitor from Bengal, addressed a meeting of Anglo Indians yesterday evening. The bulk of his speech may fitly be described as an attack on his fellow Anglo Indians. He denounces their apa... their snobbishness, the selfishness of certain leaders and their talk of unity and the absence of communal class consciousness All that be said may be very true, but is a revital of a community's faults the best way to win its members adherence to one's own particular point of view? We think not.

Rather do we hold that such speakers create in their hearers, or those who read their speeches, a feeling of truentent opposition, an impression that the speakers are insufferable pigs who see no good in others......

There never was time when the need for Anglo-Indian unity was more urgent than it is to day. India is advancing rapidly on the road to complete, self-government. As citizens of India Anglo Indians should play a very large part in guiding India on her road,

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but being a numerically insignificant community they can not hope to carry such weight in national affairs same by pulling together. Recent events ~~xxxxx~~ indicate that the community despise this fact. There is a movement for the federation of all Anglo-Indian Associations throughout India and Burma a movements which promises to be carried with success. The membership of the various Associations is increasing, slowly, it is true, but surely, and there are numerous other indications of an awakening of the commend conscience, evidence of which is to be found in the desire of Anglo Indians to play a share in the development of India, which many now frankly claims their Motherland and the rally of the Donetor. Old Girls to the help if their school. As time passes this lea rns of enthusiasm will spread throughout the whole community, unless some foolish orater hardens men's beants by herating them for their shortcomings.

TWENTY TO ONE (GANDHI'S SUCCESS)

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In today's news we are told that Mr.Gandhi has obtained more than the crore of rupees for which we appealed and in the other that the subscriptions to the Government of India bonds and loan have already ~~recalled~~ reached a total of more than twenty crores of ruppes. We do not want intend to tralittle Mr.Gandhi's achievement. Nor are we surprised at his success. For there are many rich men in India quite prepared to shower money on any politician whose creed make a sufficiently strong appeal to their strong hold, Bombay, for the bilk of his desired amount. He played with all the xxxxx skill of the finished purformer or their varrity and their prejudices and has, with their and, obtained his objective while, however, we recognise his success, we do not attack very great importance to it. It signifies very little more that than that any political organisation which makes a decided effort to obtain money for its needs, and is led by a spectacular personage well versed in the art of playing on the moods of crowds, can get all the wrong it desires. We do not doubt for the moment that the Moderates, if they wished, could easily duplicate Mr.Gandhiji's success. A far more important thing to consider is how the money has been obtained and how are the contributors distributed over the country. The gift of Rs.5 lakhs by one non is, from the standpoint of political value, of for less importance than a subscription of one rupee each by 3,00,000 people. And xxx Mr.Gandhi ~~misselfless~~ himself has admitted that the Tilak fund collectrous do not represent the masses, but rather the classes, the man who can

afford to indulge in luscurious like non-co-operation.

Then, too, we have to consider the distribution of the contributions territorially Madras small contribution of Rs.1 lkh shows how indifferent her people ane to the movement the ~~Frend~~ Fund supports. Similarly the return from other Provinces and districts remeals how coldly the bulk of the population regards this effort to force swaraj upon an unprepared nation. The millionaries of Bombay and Calcutta may think it work while to pay a high ~~police~~ price for present notoricty, but the masses clearly do not think it work the payment of a pice.

"How much ream to Swaraj does this bring us", may rightly be asked by those who near of Gandhi's success. "Not a step" must be the reply. It will undoubtedly result in intensifying the non-co-operation ~~bax~~ agitation, but it can not in itself bring India Swaraj in three months, non even in three years why? because India is not ready for it, her people do not desire it immediately. How do we know? The second item of news to which we have reformed above tells us. The people of India have already, with in a month of its being floated, subscribed over twenty crores of rupees to the Government of India loan. For every rupee that has been subscribed to the fund for overthrowing the Government, twenty Rupees have been subscribed to the loan which is to help the Government to fulfil its purpose, the leading of India along the constitutional road to full nationhood. The odds in the favour of Government and their policy are thus twenty to one, and they will, we are convinced, be much larger before the loan subscriptions lists are closed. Thus strongly backed by public opinion,

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Government received have little fear of those who would overthrow them. The people have given the mandate to Government to carry out them programme regardless and the pretulart upbraidings and pettling attacks of those whose painty is greater than that loyalty and whose law to notoriety makes them forget this duty to their country.

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BOYCOTT

"Now our inevitable step is to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth" In these words Mr.Gandhi indicates the direction of his reset big push" It is not resuspected. Mr Gandhi has long been advocating the boycott of foreign cloth and also the boycott of cloth made in Indian mills. His next effort, therefore, has nothing of a surprise nature in it. It is an essential part of his charka propaganda for it would be foolish to induce people to take to the spinning and weaving of cotton if, at the same time, no attempt were made to provide them with a market for their produce. Mr.Gandhi is not so mad as not to realise this fact, and he knows too, that if he is able to tell the masses that if they take to the charka and the handloom they will be able to find a ready market for the work of their hands, he is much more likely to succeed in getting them to heed his cry than if he merely contents himself with urging them to spin and weave and trust to luck to find markets for their view. The lessons of the war were not lost on Mr.Gandhi Showed Showman that he is, he knows that ~~are~~ one must prepare the ground for ones big operations before beginning them.

Will he be successful in his campaign of boycott as in his effort to secure Rs to crore? We do doubt his ability to secure a complete and continuous boycott of foreign and millmade cloth. Bombay merchants who have showered their thousands and their lakhs of rupees on Mr.Gandhi did not win their fortunes by daily application to the spinning wheel or the handloom. They may support Mr.Gandhi as an apponent

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of Government, but we doubt whether their strength will be behind thx him when he attacks the industry to which they owe their wealth.,,,,,,. Does any one suppose that the cotton dealers and milk owners of Bombay are going to support a boycott of goods who they bring, and sell, andmanufacture.........What they are more likely to do is to induse Mr.Gandhi to make one more of his charges of policy and exclude their business from his boycott. May his words suggest, by their stress on foreign and then ignoring of'mill made' cloth goods, that they have already done so. And it is not improvable that their contributions to his fund depended on his dropping of the boycott of mill made goods. Gandhism is a past time irote the business men. They will either modify their pasttime or drop it, and Gandhi will, and he apparently has already done , agree with their items.

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The Destroyer again

According to Mr.Gandhi's latest affusicous the boycott of mill manufactured cotton, India and foreign, is so delightfully simple that we find it difficult to understand why it should demand his presence in Bombay. He declares that to arrive at the Boycott quickly it is only necessary for mill owners to regularise this profits and manufacture principally for the Indian market, for importants to close to bring foreign goods, for consumers to refuse to buy foreign cloth, and to bring Khadi wherever possible, and to wear as little of it as possible. But Mr.Gandhi does not trust Bombay non-co-operators. He prefer to stay in a district where he knows his word carries weight than adventure into Madras where it commands little obedience. This simple scheme is one more proof of his inconsistency and his opportunism. It betrays the dinner showman who wants a big public and arranges his programme to suit all parties. In the programme he prepares for Bombay, he urges mill owners to regularise their profits and manufacture principally for the Indian market. But when he was in Andhra district a few weeks ago his programme was very different. Thus he was making to the people of a district where hand spinning and weaving give employment to no small number of people. Consequently we find non chabonf Khadi in his programme, for rent appeals to increase hand spinning and weaving in his speeches thrown, and only denunciation of mill-make cloth. Speaking at Ellore Mr.Gandhi said: I regret it as a sin to wear a single piece of foreign cloth. I regard as foreign cloth even that which comes from Bombay and Ahmedabad. It is sinful for you to

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to have your cloth manufactured in Bombay" If Bombay or Ahamedabad millmade cloth is foreign cloth, and if Mr.Gandhi desires that nobody should buy such foreign cloth, how can he at the same time tell mill-owners to manufacture principally for the Indian market. Is not Mr.Gandhi charging ~~till~~ all those ~~enjoyed~~ engaged in the manufacture and buying and selling of millmade cloth with a betting sin? The point that every body in India should bear in mind at this moment is that Mr.Gandhi and his non-co-operation followers ~~most~~ among the present time enjoyed in a gigantic efforts to destroy one of India's ~~juatest~~ greatest industries. Knowing that India's future greatness must depend largely on her industrial development, the people should unite and fight with might and main this cowardly attempt to destroy agreat industry by one who, in his fell work, plays on all the finest feelings of the people.

The Voices.

This perhaps one of the lesser burdens of those engaged in the Government of a constitutional country like India that they must frequently state their views and policy in public speeches. They cannot pursue their course in silence. They have far too many enemies, too many bitter critics, who will not fail to tell the people that their silence is but a cloth for in competency, which indeed, it only too often is. Members of the Governments and politican have now to intimate the successful tender, and advertise their views and their policies that all may know them.

In one speech the viceroy deals at length with a great variety of subjects. He says after declaring that the coming of Swaraj will not be accelerated by lawless on unconstitutional action, His Excellency declared that he and his fellows in the Imperial Government would be false to this trust if they failed to maintain order, to indicate the law, and to protect peaceful and lawabiding citizens. The remainder is timely. We are begiving to think that the Imperial government had forgotten what their duty to law abiding citizens was, seeing that Mr. Gandhi and his followers are allowed to go about the country intimiditing, threatening, and assaulting lawabiding citizens without let or hindrance. We trust that having declared his Government's duty, Lord Reading will now hasten to see that that duty is fulfilled and that lawabiding citizens are not persecuted and received by self appointed dictators and than willing tools. Justice. to be even handed, cannot afford to be blind to the terrorism

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now being practised in Bombay and other parts of India by Gandhi and his men, and must take early steps to vindicate popular rights.

In his speach at the Tamil Non-Brahman conference today. Mr.Patro, the Madras Minister, proclaims himself a social democrat, though he does not give that term the narrow measuring which has come to be associated with it in Britain. Mr. Patro detests diarchy, but affirms that the Government are sparing no means to make diarchy a success. He declares that Gandhi is not a practical nor practicable, and adds the truth that Swaraj cannot be attained by the methods which the non-co-operators are adopting.

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Non-Brahmins and non-co-operation.

One of the most pleasing and satisfactory features of present day India political life is manner in which the non-Brahmin party is making good. Though young in organisation, and new to power, it is showing acapacity for producing politician of wide out look and generous views which ~~praises~~ promises well for the future. A persual of the speeches delivered at the non-Brahmin conference at Tinnevelly reveals the fact that the non-Brahmin Ministers in Madras possess an enviable grasp of the issues before the country, and are prepared to starve unceasingly to find a satisfactory solution and the problems before the people. They are determined opponents to the non-co-operation scheme of anarchy and rebellion. They are anxious to secure the industrial prosperity and the general welfare of the people, but hold, as all wise and true patriots must, that these things can only be obtained by the steady and persistent employment of constitutional methods.

2/7/56

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110.

6.6.1922.

PAX IN BELLO.

What has been described by the "Times" as the present lull in the political situation in India still continues, and many persons are at a loss to account for it; While or the one hand the depression of the non-co-operation movement is ascribed by some to the recent firm measures for the preservation of law and order others believe that it is merely a natural reaction from the whirl wind intensity which marked Mr.Gandhi's campaign during the year 1921. However this may be it would be a mistake to imagine that we have heard the last of non-co-operation. The real test of the Governent's position will come when certain prominent leaders such as Messrs. Nelson and C.P.Das are released. But one does not need to be an optimist to see that the internal organisation of the non-co-operators has hopelessly crumbled. Maharastra is rapidly breaking away from the rest of the Congress Party and under the lead of Mr.Khaparde who is the most prominent representative of the Tilak school a sectin of opinion is ~~unstablising~~ crystalising which demands entry into the councils. It seems plain that if no unforeseen occurance disturbs the currents of feeling which are now steadily running, the Non-co-operators will with some conspicuous exceptions make a bid to capture the councils at the next election. Whether they will be successful is quite another matter; for these elections like the first will almost certainly be fought on personalities and not on principles. A long purse and local influence will probably be move conducive to success than the most thorough ticket from the Congress.

It is idle to deny that almost every thing depends upon the Turkish question. At the present time, acc-

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to well informed opinion, the Khilafat party believes that there is more to be gained from the Government than from Gandhi and the publication of the famous Memorandum which led to Mr. Montagu's resignation has been of capital importance in this country yet the position is still far from secure. The resumption of Tarko Greek hostilities, despite the military impotence of both duties, cannot be entirely placed beyond the bounds of possibility should this accur it will lead to an immediate hardening of Muslim opinion from which many arise a regenerated movement of non-co-operation. In connection considerable significance attaches to the message sent from jail by one of the most intransigeant members of the Khilafat group. This was to the effect that the militant activities he himself had lately preached should be abandoned infavour of the now constructive aspects of non-co-operation as announced at Bardoli.

The difficulty is of course, that it is beyond the wits of man to feed for long the flame of popular enthusiasm upon such innocences diet as the campaign in favour of Khaddar. How hard put to it are the left wing of the congress party to discover a new warchy, may be judged from the frantic and futile efforts to land the local dispute at Mulshipeta the appearance of a Meratha national question. Ineeed alone among the Indian Provinces of this moment does the Punjab show signs of formidable unrest. And this is but little connected with non-co-operation which indeed is almost dead in the Land of the Five ~~views~~ rivers. In its source the Punjab unrest is a sikh National movement directly traceable to that policy of pandering to sikh vanity which characterised Army administration before the war. In face of a movement of this kind there is only one policy possible that of quiet firmness. It would appear that the Punjab Government are already adopting this. Unfortunately the authorities do not seen to realise the desirability of countering by systematic campaigns of public information the

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accusations of terrorism ~~xmxxoppfdxxxisnxxyxxgzm~~ and oppression systamatically levelled against themby certain sections and those not the least influential of the Press.

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111. 10-6-1922.

ARMS AND THE MAN.

Grievances are like tropical orchids they flourish on the atmosphere they live in one of the most flourishing of these political epiphytes in India is the off ~~noticed~~ voiced grievance regarding the possession of arms.........The Arms act grievance in India was in the past fed by the atmosphere of racial jealousy in which it lived. Politically minded Indians saw in the privileges allowed to Europeans an allegation of their inferiority of the bureaucracy's lack of confidence in their good faith. The amendment of the Arms act removed this branch of the grievance but it gone gave birth to others. In place of religious jealousy we found enemy of priveleged persons inrespective of rank. The unexpected connected the privileges of those exempted from procuring arms licenses and it is fairly safe to say that had there been no exemptions at all the question of revising the news Arms act Rules would never have arisen. The mover of the resolution calling for the appointment of a committee to consider the revision of the rules almost said as much when he declared it is not my object that there should be exemptions at all if there are to be exemptions they should not be limited to any persons on class of persons." He thus showed that he was virtually in favour of the suppressin of all exemptions for he had previously declared that it is not say contention nor do I want that arms should be so freely distributed that there should be two different armies in the country.."

The question which the committee now sitting has to consider is then primarily connected with the admisibility on otherwise of continuing the present exemptions on increasing

their number. There is the need for a closer scruitny of the character and political bent of applicants for licenses. The Government of India say that "The Government must retain the power to impose restrictions to prevent arms and particularly fire arms from falling into the possession of lawless or dangerous persons". That power is very lightly employed at the present moment. There are in Madras and in other parts of India men holdin licenses to passess fire arms who are avowed enemies of constitutional Government whose object is to over throw the Government by peaceable means it not by then violence is not improbable. By issuing licenses to such man the Government an helping to arm the enemies of peaceful and ordered progress........ It is hoped that the co mittee will make suggestions to this end of making such things impossible .

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112. ३" "३ 14-6-1922.

BOLSHEVIKS FINANCIAL STRNENGTH IN INDIA.

(TRUTH WILL COME TO SIGHT.)

Truth may sometimes come out of the devils mouth says an old proverb. The truth now made public regarding the money w which the Bolsheviks have spent in bolstering up the Extremist revolutionary movement in India is therefore now the less truth because it comes out of the mouth of a Bolshevik. Indian revolutionaries non-co-operators and Khilafatists have time and again solemnly derived that they derived their financial strength from so suspect a source. But no intelligent citizen in India has believed their protestations. On the contrary the pervency of their denials has increased the General belief in the truth of the charges made against them. The evidence of Bolshevish activities in India and of their relations with the Indian Extremist was far too strong to be destroyed by pharastical denials. Many months ago Lord Curzon revealed the extent of Bolshevik perfidy; the breac of the Solemn agreement made between great Britain and Soviet Government thatthere should be no Bolshevist propaganda in India. Mr. Montagu later endorsed his collegu's statement by eulogising the work of the splendid counter organisation built up in India. to combat Bolshevist propaganda. And none the President of the Third International which is the source of the Soviet Government's strength announces that no less than 7 million of Gold roubles equal to more than Rs.1,05,10,000 have been spent in India supporting and maintaining the revolutionary spirit amongst Gandhi's adherents in India.

The admission is important. It explains the source when the intimating mischief makers of the revolutionary party der derive their sustinance. It tells us how it is that useless vakils indolent clerks lazy students and village bullis are able t to live in comparative luxury so long as they spent the tawaddle

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served out to them by Bolshevist shcemes or bully law abiding people into a securing agreement with their views.......It is business this preaching revolution at another's bevest which at p present exist in Russia. Let there are those who would have us believe that ~~Gnahdi~~ Gandhi and his benchmen are saints working solely for the welfare of India. ~~The~~ Unfortunately for their case, the Bolshevists cannot be compelled to keep silent.

We owe the Bolshevik "Linonieff" a debt of gratitude. Not because he has revealed a truth hitherto unknown but because he has destroyed once and for all the pretence of Indian revolutionaries that they are selfless workers for Indda.

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113.

22-6-1922.

BREAKING UP.

Form all sides could news of the disintegration of the Extremist Party. In calcutta and Bombay non-co-operating pleaders have resumed practice in the courts while others are about to follow their example. In Bombay the cult of Khaddar and the practice of non-co-operation has reached such a low ebb that the leading Extremist journal prints frantic exhortations to former Extremist followers to take up the Congress programme again In Maharastra Extremist leaders are busy seeking a means of reconciling the preaching of non-co-operation with the practice of co-operation ~~with the pracice of co-operation~~ and of excusing their rapid condemnation of the Reforms constitution with an active participation in its benefits and the opportunities it offers. Young India formerly the most streneous advocate of non-co-operation and a persistent opponent of co-operation and co-operators now labours ~~heav~~ heavily to prove that the Extremist constitution does after all provide for fellows hip between those who ~~who~~ look upon the councils as the root of all evil. Its arguments are not very convincing view of all its past out pourings on the boycott the councils movement and its unreleating opposition to all participation in the Reforms bodies but as straws indicating the direction of the Extremist current at the Present moment they are of value. In Madras we have the Extremists' peculiar organ lamenting the fact that the Khaddar campaign has failed and making desperate attemtpts to remine it by a despairing appeal to students who wisely and naturally prefer the brightness and gladness of colours and five rainent to the depressing gloom of the political uniform which Extremists would have them wear.

Many causes have contributed to the breaking up of the Extremist movement. Most influential of all was the Extremist

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disruptive nature of the movement itself. No political party can live on a head of negation, and despite all their fine phases about Swaraj" and the making of India great and independent, the extremist policy non-co-operation and Khilafat alike, was a policy of negation of distruction. When asked what constitution they would put in the place of the Reforms, Extremist leaders have invariably ended a direct reply, or given on outline of a constitution which differs is only one important respect from the present, namely in replacing existing administration by Extremist nominies, agigantic dictatorship living on terrorism, repotism, and bribery. Seond in importance among the causes of the Extremist failure, was the firm attitude which the Government, after exercising the utmost patience and tolerance adopted early in the year. Those who, like ourselves, argued that a policy of enforcing the law against Extremist leaders who deliberately broke it was necessary have been amply justified by events The extremist camp is so disorganised that it cannot get going. The civil disobedience bomb is proving a damp sqrib, and few of the Extremists' followers prepared it in earnest. The Muslims are becoming convinced that in allying themselves with the non-co-operations they have infired their cause and there are many signs of a rapprochement with government among responsible mahomedan leaders. In short, the Government's new policy of governing instead of placating has succeeded in scotching the extremist undeavours to overthrow the Government an object frankly acknowledged is a recent issue of young India' and has saved India from a reign of terror such as now exists in Ireland and Moscow, where justice is subordinated to the wishes of bloodthirsty nobs and men are sacrificed

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to please or clamouring irowd. The awakening of the masses to the futility of Extremist promises, and their refusal longer to be instruments of a resolutionary confidency, whose operations bring loss and suffering to their dropes, the refusal of merchants to be antimidated and of honest meh to be united by fair promiees , there are other potent causes of the Extremist failure. Extremism in India may not, indeed, be dead, but it is certainly discredited among many of those who supported it are now hastening to prove that their own particular brand of extremism was not bloodshed, but merely a delightful pink may, that their politics were really snow white, merely reflecting for a short while only the says of a terrorists' sun now passing from sight.

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Mr.Sheshagiri Iyer's outburst. 28 - 6 - 1922.

If Mr.Sheshagiri Iyer can maintain in the indolent atmosphere of Madras the per fermidness which the cool bracing air of Simla apparently imparts to his utterances, our local Extremist firebrands will have to look to their launchs. With the defeniteness of a demogogue and the vigour of an American base ball spectator, Mr.Sheshagiri Iyer has been giving the Associated Press representations and through him the the world in general his own particular diagnosis of India's present political ills. These, he tells us, are due to one principle cause, personified by Earl Winterton, a cause which this political physician assures us atrophies the work of the Reforms councils and the Assembly, and makes it impossible for Indian constitutionalists to continue their endeavours to work the Reforms. But shouting is not a good substitute for convincing argument, and we confess that Mr.Sheshargi Iyer has not convinced us that his diagnosis is the rightone. We see revealed in his outburst the angry out pourings of a disappointed man, or rather of a man who anticipates disappointment Mr.Iyer asserts that the Assembly was under the impression that Viscount Peel was favourably considering its demand for a further grant of the Reforms. Would it not be move truthful had he said that he and others in the Assembly hoped, and, hoping, believed that Viscount Peel was favourably considering the demand. Earl Winterton's speech on Indian affairs has apparently destroyed the fond hopes which Mr.Sheshargi Iyer and his friends were building upon their self created beliefs. We do not know what Viscount Peel thinks about the demand for further political concessions. No official reply to the

Assembly's demand has, so far as we aware, yet been issued. This being so it is better to preserve an open mind on the subject.

It is, however, nonsense to say, as Mr.Sheshagiri Iyer says, that Indian politicians can do no good to the country through the Reforms scheme. The history of the Legislative Assembly and the Councils throughout India during the past two years gives the lie direct to this absurd assention.

The Reforms afford ample opportunities to reasonable and fair minded politicians to do a wonderful work for the advancement of India. To declare that the Reforms are useless, that the Assembly and the Councils are impotent because in every case every member does not get his way is to act like a child who distroyes his doll because for once its eyes refused to close. Mr.Sheshagiri Iyer's out burst is indeed like that of a fretful child stamping his feet in impotent rage because he cannot get all he wants. He declares that there are only two constitutional solutions for what he distailes as early as possible on the acceptance by the Government of every proposal passed by the councils, except in very extreme cases. It is a cautiously worded alternative. The British Government may fairly claim that it has always been their object to grant self government to India as early as possible. This object is clearly stated in the Reforms act. And, too, it is only" in very extreme cases", that, the Government of India may claim, they ignore the demands of the popularly elected councils. And a review of the proceedings of these councils will on the whole

justify their claim. Mr.Seshagiri Iyer, in short, roars like a lion but works his alternatives with the cunning of a fox. Mr.Iyer declares that already discontended India has lost fatih in, British justice". It is not true. It is merely a political phrase which Mr.Seshegiri Iyer has borrowed from the Extremists. He does not believe it true, else, as an ex-judge himself, he would refrain from appealing to an unjust tribunal what has happened is that Mr.Iyer has built a formidable, bogie out of a speech which did not please him because it spoke plainly about things which he would rather not remember and having made his bogie he must needs destroy it in public.

LEARNING THE TRUTH.

29 - 6 - 1922

Leader.

"When ~~there is~~ thieves fallout honest men come by th~~is~~eir own" says an old proverb. Adopted to the political conditions in India to day it might run: "When extremists fall out the public learns the truth". In a letter one of the most reciferous of Madras Extremists announces his resignation of the offiaex of President of the city congress council, and states that he cannot continue in Office consistent with his resposibility to the public. He ~~thr~~speaks of the choatic conditions into which the business affairs of the Council have been reduced, his remark, it would seem relating more particularly to the way in which the finances of the council are dealt with. Not the least insignificant thing in his letter is his revolution of the payment of Rs.50/- to a non.co-operation to induce him to go to jail. Thus do extremists sacrifice their liberty at a price of course.

Another report taken from the statesman" states that Mr.Basun, the ~~um~~ Senior partner of a firm of solicitors, has served authorities of the Tilak swaraj fund with a notice demanding the accounts, failing which he will be compelled to seek the ~~beth~~ help of ~~country~~ a Court of law on behalf of a particular subscribtion to the fund". We have often called attention to the lax way in which the founds collected by the extremists are dealt with, the wastefulness, and the Hidden hand" methods adopted in disposing them, and we are, therefore, gratified that one subscriber has at last had the pluck to challenge the Extremist causes. A lot of interesting revolution are likely to be made," says the report," if the matter is threshed out in a count of law" we hope it will be.

278/RI/86
2031/RH/90
6203/RH/90
285
RH/05
291/RI/85
35?/RI/85
547/RI/85
1228/RI/85
1981/RI/85
607/RI/86
1035/86
1183/86
445/89
56/89
2216/89
22/6/89
7/3/90